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drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisinimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

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Thereby our stomachs shall grow big;
Thereby we shall live.(3)

At some villages a special messenger called at each house to summon the people. He had his face painted black and was known as the blackface. Black was thought to connote dizziness and was used also for warriors, to typify the wildness of battle. He stood at the threshold saying, "My kinsmen, come help us to sing that we may pull down the clouds." One informant, a good singer, said that he then always turned to her and requested: "My sister, now you must help us. It will be only two nights, and then you can rest"(26).

When the singers arrived, they were again instructed:

6. Now here you have assembled;
Now thus we shall do!
With our singing we shall pull down the rain.(4)

At the council house any sacred objects owned by the village had been placed on display; and, if there was nothing more, at least there was a tuft of eagle down over each door, because "everybody keeps a little eagle down." In the center of the dance place was a small fire, from which cigarettes could be lighted. A large fire would "scare away the clouds." The old men who knew the songs sat outside the council house and sang each song to make sure of words and tune. When they had decided on the first song, they called the song leader. This man had been chosen by the council for the liquor singing because of his loud voice and good memory. He held office until too old to sing and then passed on his duties to some male relative to whom he had taught the songs. Each leader generally had several unofficial assistants, with loud voices and good memories, whom he asked to follow him at the head of the line. Some old informants, both men and women, boasted of having belonged to this group, known as "those who walk ahead."

The leader advanced to the dance place, shaking his rattle horizontally, and began the song. The men joined him, clasping hands and stepping sideways, counterclockwise. As other voices joined in, the leader shook his rattle vertically. Gradually the women joined the circle, each placing herself between two men. There was burning rivalry among the young men who hoped to be chosen in

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Then kindly to you it felt,
And well it fermented.

Then did you take a weed stalk.
You smoked it, and under your bowguard put it (as a ceremonial cigarette of invitation).
Then thus you did:
Here to me did you come and speak.
Then did I accept your summons.
I did take up my shining torch
And tread the shining road to you.
Before I had gone far,
It was my wind.
Behind me it came whirling.
To me next did it thus happen:
It was my cloudiness.
Above me did it settle,
And therewith did I shade myself, as I walked.

I did arrive
And did swallow the liquor you had made.
Gloriously did I grow dizzy;
Gloriously did I grow drunk,
There upon your land,
Holding many ceremonies.
There were some (wind and cloud) left over.
Homeward did I go taking them.
I did lie down upon them
And again lie down.(5)

Meantime the blackface had visited all the houses of the home village, with the invitation:

30. Drink friend! Beautifully be drunk!
Hither bring the wind and its cloudiness.(1)

At present this tour is made on horseback. The blackface, though he still bears the title, is no longer blacked, but is now decked in cowboy finery, with all the silver horse-trappings obtainable.

The sit-and-drink took place on the dance ground outside the council house. All feathers and sacred objects had been removed before daylight, that they might not be exposed to any injury. The

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At Kaka, the first step was the calling of a meeting to decide on the date of the feast. Here a speech was made by the hereditary ritual orator for the occasion, who must belong to the *maam* sib.

SPEECH BEFORE DEER HUNT

1. Hail!
I looked upon my buckskin, lo, I saw
It was already all worn out.
I looked upon my bowstring, lo, I saw
It was already all worn out.
Lo, I saw the clothing of my women.
It was already all worn out.
Then did I reveal my desire.

Toward sunset a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade [coyote].
Toward the sea (south) a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond, did I place my white comrade.
Toward sunrise a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.
Toward the north a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.

Hither and yon they ran.
This way they ran and killed the deer.
There kept barking the comrade.
There [the deer] fell and thrashed about.
Then did a man run up.
He moved the deer and laid him with his head to westward.
He took the tail and brought it to the shaman.
The shaman sat and marked a square.
He put the tail within it.
Then came the people.
They took the tail and with it they blessed themselves.(39)

After the speech the date for the dance was decided upon, and runners were sent to neighboring villages, each carrying a bundle

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of sticks to indicate the number of days that must elapse before the dance. The chief of the invited village arranged these sticks on end in the council house, and every day he removed one. When the last stick was gone, it was time for his party to start.

Meantime, at the home village, samples of all the vegetable crops were gathered, ready to be piled up on the dance ground. Pits were dug for roasting corn, and jars were made ready to boil the deer meat. All the hunters of the village went out to get the deer.

The method in recent years has been to surround the deer on horseback, driving it toward concealed marksmen, who shot it. In former times, as has been told in detail for other areas, death must be caused by smothering; no blood might be shed. In any case, there must be a short ceremony before the butchering. The deer was laid with its head toward the west, as has just been described, and then four men stepped forward, one from each of the sibs. First the *dapap* man took hold of its legs and turned the body over on the other side; then the *maam* man turned it back again, after which *dpki* and *vaaf* performed similar motions. Then the ceremonial orator advanced and spoke as follows:

SPEECH BEFORE BUTCHERING THE DEER
(Kaka)

2. Hail!
Thus did my desire fulfill itself.
It was thick straw.
Therewith an image did I make and finished it.
It was the rainbow.
Therewith did I make hindlegs.
It was the Milky Way.
Therewith did I make forelegs.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It was thick straw.
I placed it on the head [as horns]
Of broad leaves did I make the ears
Then did I fold up the wind

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There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter. The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade."[1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

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him, pelted him with dried squash stems, which have a sharp calyx. Then they chased both messengers out of the village. Later another messenger was sent, his face being black only from the eyes down. He viewed the race track to see that it was not bewitched, and he, also, was chased out of the village. After this the challengers entered, singing and dancing.[2] The hosts, after the entertainment, gave them food.

The Papago villagers might chase the messengers almost back to the camp of the challengers. That night the women of the challenged village came out to sing for the challengers and to make them welcome. They sang "any songs they could remember," but as lively ones as possible.

SONGS BY WOMEN OF THE CHALLENGED VILLAGE

1. I tied up the wind;
   Far yonder I tied it up.
   On Toad Mountain I sat tying it.
   There, before me, the mountains stood,
   With haze on their summits.(9)

2. Under Baboquiviri
   I lay down to sleep.
   Something frightened me.
   Alarmed, I jumped up,
   Looking in all directions.(9)

Before dawn the dancers from the visiting village painted their bodies and made ready the dance paraphernalia. Then, with blackface messengers at their head and the dancers following, the whole

[2] Fontaren, a Jesuit missionary, gives similar details in connection with a challenge to pelota among the Acaxee, about 1600. The contest, in this case, was held on the ball ground of the challenging village. For four nights previously, there was singing which appears to have been a song cycle. It was started each night by two armed warriors who appeared on the walls of the ball court and issued a summons. The people then entered, singing and dancing. On the day of play, these warriors mounted the walls and the villagers entered as usual. "As they were about to dance, the visitors came in from one side, dressed and armed as for battle and began to shoot blunt arrows at the two warriors on the walls. The warriors tried to avoid these or ward them off with their shields but they were forced shortly to withdraw and were followed by the dancers, the visitors left in possession of the ground." (Beals, 1933, p. 19.) In both cases it is the challenged side which finally holds the field, though in the Papago case this is the host village, in the Acaxee case, the guest village.

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the words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder." This speech was not recorded.

They now prepared the scene where the feast was to be held. In front of the space where the dances would be performed they made a symbolic representation of the fields of all five villages. The director threw corn meal on one of the spectators and bade him bring sand. This helper, like all the others in important ceremonies, must run at his task, not walk. He filled a blanket full of sand several times, and disposed of it in front of the ceremonial house where the leaders sat. The director measured a plot about a hundred feet square. He marked this space into compartments "representing the fields" of each town concerned. After he had indicated the measurements, the other four leaders, as representatives of their villages, made the sand into piles with which they marked the boundaries of their respective fields, each in the direction in which its village lies. In these sand piles were placed the turkey-feather prayer sticks from the basket, eight in each pile.

This done, the basket was closed and returned to its place in the ceremonial house, and the spectators were told that the public performance of the ceremony would take place in ten days, to be reckoned by the tally sticks. Each leader returned to his own village, and that evening he summoned the men and announced the ten days of festival. His summons was the swinging of a bull roarer. Every man and youth in the village was expected to attend and, with them, the members of related villages who had come in to camp for the purpose. The leader made a speech outlining their duties for the next ten days, when all were supposed to be at his disposal and ready to work. Next morning they started.

Their first duty was to build a temporary brush enclosure in which to work at the making of ceremonial paraphernalia. The enclosure was roofless, like the old winter hunting camps, and consisted merely of upright cactus ribs, with a thatching of greasewood. It was made in less than a day, and when it was finished the men sat down inside to sing for an hour "to make it stand up."

They had now to learn the songs which would be presented at the ceremony and to fashion the effigies which would illustrate them. Each village had eight hereditary song composers. These

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793 I am inclined to consider the governor an innovation, gradually
622 usurping the functions of the ancient informal leader and adding to
624 them.

Legends represent the people as applying in all crises to "him who goes before us" and taking his advice as to what to do. At present this ancient leader may still be the chief power in a village, sometimes using the secular governor as a "front" but in one case boldly issuing orders in his own name. However, his power is rapidly declining. The White officials take no cognizance of him and, unless he is a man of powerful personality, he is reduced to a routine ceremonialist who appears only once or twice a year. The list of villages shows an X against those which have a fetish and a Keeper of the Meeting. All the northern villages have both while in some of the southern ones, which have come under intensive Christianizing influence, both have entirely disappeared.

793 The Keeper generally chose his own successor in office from among the male members of his family best suited to the duties. Accounts of the exact arrangements for succession varied in different localities, some informants stating:

"The Keeper chose his own successor. Nobody could criticise," and also, "When a Keeper died, the Elders would go to his brother or someone and say: 'You knew his ways best. You had better lead us'." The latter would seem to be an occurrence of recent times, when anyone with ceremonial knowledge is hard to find.

I am inclined to give most weight to those accounts which state [623] that the successor, having been chosen by the Keeper, must be approved by the council of elders since this is in accord with general practice in the area. If, according to these accounts, the elders disapproved, they would make their own selection and the Keeper would be obliged to instruct the new candidate.

Since the learning of the rituals was a very long task, the successor was chosen long before the Keeper was ready to quit his office and acted for years as a ceremonial assistant. Such a deputy was never a very young man since the young were not considered competent for ceremonial functions. He might be the Keeper's brother or a classificatory sibling somewhat younger than himself. At Santa Rosa the Keeper, who is somewhere near ninety, has an assistant of seventy who stands with him during rituals and sometimes makes the speech himself; this man is a very distant relative.

But the Keeper had also a young man as messenger, known as [202] his Leg. This man often made the fire for him, called out the announcements if there was no crier and took messages to people at a distance. He was in line for the office and was expected to

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learn the ritual so that when he himself was middle aged he would be ready for the succession. The man who is Leg at Santa Rosa is father's brother's son's daughter's son to the present Keeper. But in this case the Keeper has other assistants, especially assigned to him by the council because of his great age. They are called his Eyes, his Ears and his Voice, and seem to have been appointed as a special favor because the aged official had trouble in seeing, hearing and in speaking loud.

New villages and villages where the Keeper died suddenly, sometimes appointed a Keeper with few formalities. Standing Rock, founded from Mesquite Root, had no fetish and returned to the home town for ceremonies, but they built a house for meetings and selected one of the older men whom they called Keeper. He performed the routine duties and, when the village wanted a rain ceremony of its own, borrowed the fetish from Mesquite Root and invited the speaker from there. The Keeper at Coyote Village died without a successor and the people insisted that his brother take the office, even without knowing the speeches. They invited any speakers they could find. At present, when Wise speakers are growing scarce, a man who knows any portion of the speeches, even if he has no official position, will be invited to recite them.

THE CRIER

Papago organization being always of a flexible and informal sort, the office of crier was not a fixed one. "The Keeper, if he had a strong voice, would make his announcements himself" (22), while the Hunt and Game leaders would make theirs. But some villages had the system found in the Pueblos of a regular official to make the announcements and to pass his office on by loose heredity. We may conjecture that this was the official pattern and that it was the smaller and poorer villages who cut down the number of officials.

In most large Field villages, the people were awakened every morning and the men called to meeting every evening. The calls seem to have been standardized for each village or perhaps for each individual crier, since any informant was immediately able to recite the official call, but they were all different.

Dawn Call (Komarik) 19

It is daylight. All around is visible the land.
Come forth and see what is around us.

Dawn Call (Kaworik) 14

Hurry! Awake! That you may do something good.
That for the villagers it may be good!

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202 512 If any communal activity had been agreed upon at the meeting, the announcement of this followed the call. At sunset the men were summoned to the Big House.

Call to Meeting (Vamori) 25

Now thus let us arrange to do: let us hold our meeting! Now here, under the west, let them sit down, the elders! Thus says our leader, that we shall assemble; that we shall sit down. The under-the-greasewood-growing tobacco we call for and we request the under-the-grease-wood-growing tobacco. All our friends, let them assemble and let them speak.

Evening Call (Kaworik) 14

Hither come at evening. Then we will surround the fire we have made and we will make ready that which we shall do for our future. And do you bring your tobacco.

Evening Call (Komarik) 19

Hither come. Hither bring your cigarette. We will smoke and speak of something.

If an emergency arose during the day, the men might be called from the fields.

Danger Call (Komarik) 9

Let us assemble!
A man has come running and tells of danger.
Assemble and listen!

Special calls were also used before all the ceremonies. These were more elaborate.

Call to Sing while Liquor ferments (Archie) 27

Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. Our fire has burned and the sun has gone down. You have eaten your meal. Now come together, following our old custom. It will not be long. Two nights we will sing and then go back to work. Come, do your part, so that the shaman can divine what will happen. This is our old custom. It is not new. It has continued for long.

WAR LEADER

624 701 The war leader was, in ancient times, like the Keeper, a ceremonial official whose first duty was to know the war ritual and to recite it on the proper occasions. He received his office from his predecessor, just as the Keeper did his, and held it to old age. It was he who

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the wise man might simply attain his position by the exhibition of good judgment. "If he showed sense, they would listen to him" (8). This is the standard exploit in tales of the orphan boy, who makes a good suggestion in meeting before he is considered old enough to speak. The important factors would seem to have been a man's practical sense and knowledge of traditions.

In the summer village the meeting was held in the Big House: in camp it was in a brush enclosure, or even a cleared space on the ground. The Keeper of the Meeting or the man who was acting as such built a fire in the center of the place to be used, called the people or had them called and sat down facing the east. (In a house or enclosure this would mean opposite the door.)

The wise men, as they arrived, took their places around the fire and the listeners behind them. The crier sat at the right of the Keeper. In villages where there was a speaker to put the leader's proposals the speaker sat at the right and the crier at the left. Some informants thought that each wise man had his allotted place which he occupied during life and which was assigned to a new wise man on his death (14). The same informant thought that the shamans, far from being excluded, had special places, at the north, south, east, and west of the circle, as they do at the drinking ceremony. At present certain prominent men are allowed by custom always to have seats near the Keeper, but there is no other formality.

Some informants thought that the Leg always sat behind the Keeper ready to be sent on errands. Another said that when the meeting was held in a roofless enclosure, the fire was put outside it so as to deceive the Apache. One man then had the duty of running to the fire to bring an ember for lighting the cigarettes. He sat behind the Keeper and was called the peg, that is, the peg with which a hide is fastened down for drying (25).

The proper demeanor in this and all other assemblies was to sit on the heels with arms folded and head bent. The hair should be tied with a thong, so that there would be no disturbing motion of raising the hand to keep it from blowing. It was highly blameworthy to show signs of drowsiness and the offender would have a lighted cigarette thrust between his toes.

The men arrived in silence and when all were seated, the ceremonial cigarette was passed. This was a six inch tube of cane or cornhusk filled, in the earliest days, with wild tobacco. The Keeper lit this or had it lit by an assistant and puffed ceremonially with an invocation, "Now do I breathe out. It will reach you. You will send a benefit" (14). Or, "May he bless me, give me life and lead me along a good road." The power originally referred to was thought

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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power. He spoke to them, telling them how they would dream. I do not know what he said to them. Old men know that—old Killers. Even a Slayer's woman like me is not told. But my father told me the end of every speech he made because it was always the same:

Verily, who desires this thing?
Do not you desire it?
Then learn to endure hardship.

One morning we heard shouting. It was the messengers from the war party, two men who had been sent ahead on the fastest horses. They were far outside the village, standing up in their stirrups and yelling:

One Ear —— has killed!
Ridge Face —— has killed!
The Gambler —— has killed!

The last one was my father. They called the name of his brother too, but it was words you white people do not like to say, about peoples' bodies.

We heard them far off, over and over again in a loud sing-song, and everyone came outside to listen to know if we now belonged to the families of Enemy Slayers.

My mother had a basket of corn kernels in her hand; she was going to grind flour. But when she heard the shout she set it down and just stood there. Then Leaf Buds came running to our house. She just motioned to my mother to come with her. My mother did not speak to us, and she did not take anything with her; just her cotton blanket to put over her head, because the wife of a man who is being purified must not see the sun. The husband of Leaf Buds was building a shelter for my mother, out away from the houses. He had to run to do it as soon as he heard the shouts. Until it was done, my mother went to Leaf Buds' house and sat there with her blanket over her head, not speaking. They did not make us children do anything, because children cannot stand the suffering of being purified. But my grandmother called us into the house and told us to stay quietly there. She gave us sticks to scratch our heads with so we would not use our hands and make our hair fall out. She told us not to speak much and never to go near the fire.

So we could not go out to see the men come in. The young girls whose men were not Enemy Slayers ran out to meet the fighters, far into the mountains. Ah, that is a good dance. I did it myself, at other times when there was no Power in the family. The girls stand across the warriors' path and take their weapons from them. They take arrows and quivers and bows,

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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and my husband said to me: "We will go." That is what he always said. I hoped I would get a man who would take me to the dances and I did. Always we went and always together.

Half the people from our village went, and the people from the Burnt Seeds and the Willows and the Narrow Place. We filled the road, going along on our horses. Two nights we camped and every night we sang. When we go to race another village, it is not just a race. We sing and dance for our rivals and we come with beautiful new songs to please them. Sometimes my father made those songs, but this time it was a man named Fish Mouth. His songs were about the corn, and our men had made corn ears of cactus ribs with green yucca blades for the corn leaves and a green painted stalk. Ten boys and ten girls were going to carry them in the dance, and I was one.

We play a game with the village we are going to challenge. We send a man in on a horse, with his face painted black. He rides in to look at their dance place; then he stands up in his stirrups and calls out that we are coming. They all throw squash stems at him, the little hard stems with a circle at the bottom that cuts like a knife. So he bends close over his horse and gallops out of the village.

Then we come in. I cannot tell you all the running and the basket drumming and the old, old songs that are always sung between us before we race. My father made a speech to them and they to us. Then we dancers came in, two and two, boy and girl, holding high the white corn. The singers thumped on their baskets for us and all those River People crowded to listen. I cannot sing you the songs that Fish Mouth made, I must sing my father's. Beautiful, gay songs, my father always made.

From the ocean far away
Circling round our singing place
Maidens came,
Hither came
To circle round our singing place.

My father had dreamed that song when he went far away to the western ocean to get salt from the dry beds there. The ocean is a magic place and only brave men dare go near it. But it gave my father beautiful songs.

A boy had a feather belt
The girls on either side
Kept pulling and loosened it
And when the dance stopped
He had to tighten it again.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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The band should be cut from the skin of a black dog, which is killed for the purpose in the practising enclosure. 796 534

The singer has the upper body nude, his trousers being turned up as high as possible and his feet bare. He wears no head-dress, but attempts to appear neatly attired, tying around the loins a colored bandanna or perhaps a shawl borrowed from his wife. Around the waist, the neck, and the upper part of the arm bright-colored strips of cloth are tied. His body is smeared with red ochre on which are spots of white, symbolizing grains of corn. 796 533 301

An important part of the singer's outfit is the bull-roarer, consisting of two flat pieces made of sahuaro rib, the smaller one being held by the hand when in use. The connecting string should be twine of native cotton, which still may be found in use. They are decorated with symbolic designs, such as those standing for lightning, clouds, turtles, grains of corn, expressing their desire for rain. The buzzing sound produced should be deep, in imitation of the thunder, which brings rain; if the sound is shrill, lightning only will follow. 796 534

The bull-roarer is swung for the purpose of calling people together and as a sign that the meeting is over, both at the preliminary exercises in the practising enclosure as well as at the feast itself. These buzzing implements not only open and conclude the proceedings, but they are used on the way from the practising house to the feast early in the morning, also when the cloud [202]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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men seated on the ground under the jacal in front of Juan's hut and facing the east began these operations. The sweet stuff was first poured into a large and deep water-tight basket, with symbolic designs in the weaving, one placed before each young man. Water was poured into this, in the proportion of two-thirds to a third part; sometimes half and half is used. The operators, who had their shirt sleeves turned up to the elbow, mixed according to rules and regulations. Slowly stretching their hands, palm down and forward, over the fluid, they would immerse them and draw them along the bottom toward themselves, then rubbing the hands twice against each other over the fluid. This was repeated several times. As a change they sometimes dipped them into the liquid, lifted up what the two hollows of the hands would hold, and rubbed it into foam, continuing rubbing until the foam disappeared. An elderly man then tasted the mixture, carried the basket into the house, and emptied it into one of the big jars. This procedure of mixing lasted nearly four hours. In the same way the brewing of the much esteemed wine was commenced that day not only in the Big House, but in many of the private dwellings of the great rancheria. Usually several families unite forces at one house and, when the official feast of two days is over at the lodge, people gather at the houses to drink and get drunk.

Shortly after sunset that day, the loud voice of the herald who calls the meeting to order, sounded from the lodge. His exhortations lasted several minutes, and although I at a distance could not distinguish the words,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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796 I have no doubt that his voice, which rang clear
202 in the quiet night, carried over the entire rancheria. What he was saying was, of course, known to everybody; hearing the call was enough to summon them for
796 the important event. People were slow in assembling and the dancing began late. The long string of eagle plumes over the dancing place, that had been a prominent feature in the arrangement at the former sahuaro feast in which I took part, was missing here. During an accidental fire in the house of the keeper with the ominous name, the sacred emblem had literally gone up in smoke. A band of medicine-men, some of them called from a considerable distance, were making up for the defect. There were four of them inside the circle, walking around in a row, moving their plumes and invoking the rain. At times they would dance about like children gesticulating wildly with their plumes. Two of them wore cast-off garments of whites, and one in a long, smart-looking mackintosh, looked especially ludicrous, cutting extraordinary capers to induce the rain to come.

The dancing and singing were on a much larger scale than at the feast I had previously attended, as befitted such an important locality as the Santa Rosa. The leading singers, as well as a few of the others in the circle of about a hundred dancing and singing men and women, had astonishingly powerful voices. There was an atmosphere of order and sincerity and devotion among the participants. Very noticeable was a woman leader, who walked next to the man who, swinging his rattle and singing, leads the whole procession. She had

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, 1-4 (no date) 1943
NU28 Papago NU28

from *tcupi*, to sink). The winds coming from the south were muddy color because they had picked up the dust from the original rubbish heap. Even today the annual wind storm, which always comes from the south, is sometimes spoken of as being *spi'tema'*KI.

Papago men of one village who are sent to invite people from outside villages to participate in the Rain ceremony paint their faces black to disguise themselves. The invitation is not proferred by one individual to another, but by a messenger who merely represents the village giving the ceremony. This messenger is called *wuhyo tcu'*KI, face black. The speaker in the Rain ceremony greets the invited guests upon their arrival. He is painted with the colors of the rain clouds, white, red, gray, and muddy color, and also carries a stick striped with the same colors. These four are used together only in connection with the Rain ceremony.

The use of white clay at a child's reception into the family after the purification ceremony has also special meaning. The desert Papago use white clay, but the Sonora Papago use a yellowish-white clay. Perhaps they lack the white variety, or possibly any light-colored clay is potent. The story of the first use of white clay as told among the desert Papago is as follows:

There was a place where water came out of the earth. The people did not know the reason, but the water ran out in increasing quantities. The situation grew dangerous. The people became more and more excited, but they did not know what to do. They sent out the medicine man. He said that the keeper of the sacred *vahcah*[3] had not been true to his teaching. The people decided to make an offering, the greatest one possible. They decided to make an offering of the keeper's two children. A four-cornered hole was dug, and the children were put in it. The children were told to dance while the older people sang. The men started to sing. The children danced. Water ran into the hole. The children kept on dancing. They did not look at the water. They were drowned. When the water went down, a layer of white clay remained. It was said to be the children. It was said to be good because the children were good and obeyed instructions. To this day the child that is given a taste of white clay will be good and obedient like the two sacrificed children.

The paragraphs to follow present brief descriptions of each of the colors to which a designation has been given. The order follows that given in the chart.

*White. cahstoh*A, almost white; *toh*A, white; *sihstoh*A, very white. The first and last colors are to be considered in their relation to the standard. *toh*A implies the lack of color; *cahstoh*A describes pale tints of any color even those that are more than a little tinged with color. It seems to mean whitish or off-white, color terms comparable to our blue-white, cream-white, oyster-white, and the like.

[3] *vahcah*, a long rectangular basket, not coiled, with a cover. In this are kept sacred objects such as Apache scalps, crystal rocks, and sticks tipped with down.